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CONTENTS

A. KINGSBURY: The Dramatic Techniques of Xenophon's <i>Anabasis</i>	161
J. E. REXINE: Contemporary Greek Classical Scholarship (<i>EEAth</i> II.5)	164
R. V. SCHODER, S.J.: Vergilian Summer School at Cumae: Reading List	166
C.A.A.S.: Program of Forty-Ninth Annual Meeting	167
Reviews	171
M. Pohlenz, <i>Die griechische Tragödie</i> , 2d ed. (Kirkwood). L. G. Westerink (ed.), <i>Prochus Diadochus. Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato</i> (Long). C. H. Oldfather, R. M. Geer (tr.), <i>Diodorus of Sicily</i> [Loeb ed.] VI, X (Pearson).	
Notes and News	175
C.A.A.S., Spring Meeting — Fulbright Awards, 1957-58, — C.C.A. (N.Y.), Seal.	
Books Received	176

THE DRAMATIC TECHNIQUES OF XENOPHON'S ANABASIS *

For generations the opinions of students and scholars on the worth of Xenophon as historian and author have been mixed. The *Anabasis*, labouring as it does under the not inconsiderable burden of being the first continuous Greek prose to which "baby Greek" classes are exposed, has especially suffered the indifference and even the disgust of those aspirants who have viewed it as the dismal portal to glories beyond. *Difficilis est descensus campis Elysii*. For most readers the *Anabasis* left a confused memory of parasangs and empty cities and bustards with long, hairy ears.

Perhaps an important aspect of the *Anabasis* has been neglected. During the fifth century B.C. the supreme literary form was the drama, closely related to the epic. Oratory, under the superintendence of the Sophists, developed in the latter half of the century and reached its eminence in the two generations following the peace of 404 B.C. When Xenophon wrote, the combination of rhetorical and dramatic *métiers* had accustomed the Athenian audience to long direct speech in literature of the theatre, to dramatic utterance in orations, to figures of poetic diction on the stage and in the *ekklesia*.

Calhoun calls Xenophon "tragodos" for his use of poetic words and figures, his simple narrative, his vivid scenes, and the "Trilogy" of the first four books of *Anabasis*.¹ Here is, perhaps, the germ of an idea.

Throughout the *Poetics* Aristotle lists and describes the requirements for a dramatic work: diction, character, thought, plot, spectacle and melody.² In the discussion of a writer's dramatic techniques surely these categories must be considered. Are they in the *Anabasis* or shall we call Xenophon a tragic poet in the modern sense only, without noting whether the historian has fulfilled any of the Aristotelian requirements?

Aristotle remarks that unusual words, a special poetic vocabulary, antithesis, and metaphor are part of dramatic diction (*Poetics* 1457b - 1459a).

The style and diction of the *Anabasis* have long been subjected to close analysis and commentary. A summary should serve. He has been compared to Aristophanes in his use of the plurals of modesty or majesty and in the use of parenthesis.³ The similarity between Euripides

1. G. M. Calhoun "Xenophon Tragodos," *CJ* 17 (1921-22) 141-149.

2. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1450a.

3. Carolus Warth, *De Usu Pluralium Modestiae et Maies-tatis apud Xenophontem et Aristophanem* (Diss. Marburg 1891), Introduction, pp. 3, 5. For examples, see the dissertation *passim*.

*Paper read at the Forty-Eighth Annual Meeting of C.A.A.S., Pittsburgh, Pa., April 29-30, 1955.

and Xenophon in their poetic vocabulary has been fully commented upon.⁴ Metaphors and *sententiae* abound in speeches in the *Anabasis*⁵ and the piling of words for special effect, sometimes for homoioteleuton.⁶ The list of antitheses is a long one.⁷

There is an art which imitates character by speech—the Socratic conversation for which, Aristotle says, we have no general name.⁸ Most of the Platonic dialogues are markedly mimetic. In drama character is included for the sake of action, Aristotle states, but the defining of character is no less clear in the Socratic dialogue than in the play. Xenophon was sometimes a member of the group around Socrates and the mimetic quality of the dialogues, the vignettes of Athenian life, the characters made individual by expression of thought, by action and reaction, has carried over into the speeches of the *Anabasis*.⁹ For example, in 1.5.11-17, Klearchos and Menon are at odds over a point of military protocol. Klearchos has punished one of Menon's men and the conversation between them points up the contrast that Xenophon later (2.6) makes clear in his description of the Greek leaders. Again, in 5.7.1-13, Xenophon is advised of Neon's rumours that he plans to take the army back to Phasis; he answers the accusation with kindness, humour and persuasion. In 7.6.31-34 the character of Kleandros is made clear through conversation with Xenophon as they test each other and slowly become friends. Later (7.2.12-14) Seuthes' character is clarified in the same manner.

And there is wit, completely described by Bassett in his article: the camp humour of situation, wit at table, and in the speeches that spur the army to action.¹⁰ In 5.8.11 one of the soldiers berates Xenophon for assaulting him when the army was snowbound. Xenophon replies: "And did I, alas, strike you in the storm

without food or even a sniff of wine—ah, I was base and lewder than a jackass . . . I must have been drunk."

The varied characters of the protagonists, Cyrus, Orontes, the Greek *strategoi*, Seuthes; the minor participants, individual soldiers, a muleteer, some old men of Persia are presented in vivid colour. Xenophon describes them as much through their speeches and conversations as through direct narrative, and each in his turn holds the centre of the stage and the attention of the reader.

Moments of soliloquy remind us of Shakespearean tragedy of a much later date—when Xenophon converses with himself in an attempt to make a difficult decision, when Cyrus en-

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4. Laurence Enberg, *De Arte Xenophontis Historica*, (Diss. Upsala, 1809). See especially pp. 4 and 7. Throughout the dissertation are numerous examples.

5. E. g. 1.9.23; 3.1.38.

6. E. g. 6.6.17; 3.1.29; 5.8.18; 5.1.6; 7.7.32.

7. E. g. 3.2.8; 5.7.5. Enberg (see above n. 4) includes a partial list. The subject is fully discussed by J. E. Hollingsworth, *Antithesis in the Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeus*, (Diss. Chicago; Menasha, Wis. 1931).

8. *Poetics* 1447b. See John McDonald, *Character Portraiture in Epicharmus, Sophron and Plato* (Sewanee 1931), esp. 133 and 142.

9. See Enberg (above n. 4) 2-3.

10. Samuel B. Bassett, "Wit and Humor in Xenophon," *CJ* 12 (1916-17) 565-574.

courages himself to do battle at Cunaxa.¹¹

Aristotle summarizes concerning character: it reveals moral purpose . . . dramatic effect through character is quite possible without actual staging and visible performance if characters are well and realistically portrayed in their speeches (*Poetics*, 1450a-b).

Plot is the third part of the *Poetics* (1451a); fundamental to the plot are *peripateia* (reversal of the situation of the hero) and *anagnorisis* (recognition of the situation, usually accompanied by dramatic irony). In the course of the drama the hero passes through a series of probable stages from happiness to sorrow or from unhappiness to hope of success (1452b). He should be a man who is not eminently good or just, yet whose misfortune is brought about by . . . some error or frailty (1453a).

Within the larger frame of the *Anabasis*, the journey of the army of mercenaries following Cheirisophos and Xenophon from disaster to probable success, are minor dramatic scenes. The tragedy of Cyrus, led by an omen to his death in battle, and of Klearchos, whose leadership ends in death by treachery, are two of the episodes. In the third Xenophon is hero, led on by omens and dreams to direct the army on its march up country. There is in this adventure development, a number of probable scenes, reversals, recognitions, and eventually a hope of solution when the army reaches Pergamos and unites with the Greeks there to fight a common enemy.

Thought also must be shown in the drama, Aristotle requires, and in all things it is affected by language, in effort to prove or disprove and to rouse emotion, and to further the action (*Poetics* 1455a-b). Here he emphasizes the interplay of dramatic and rhetorical techniques, when speeches from a tragedy, especially one by Euripides, sound like the arguments of a man before the *ekklesia*; and Lysias often reminds the hearer of a speaker in a tragedy.

Scenes in Xenophon's work can be divided into three types: setting of the action (the travels of the army and its observations); skirmish and battle; and—probably the largest part—speeches made especially to forward the action from one scene to the next. There are those made before the army starts the day's march, before it deploys to attack, when supplies must be found; and each time Xenophon, as commander,

is in difficulties with the men because of rumours. He must prove, in the assembly, the virtue of his position. In 5.6.15-28 Xenophon answers charges brought by Silanos that he intends to keep the army on the shores of the Euxine. In explaining he makes Silanos' plot clear and encourages the army to move on with renewed vigour. In 6.5.17-26 the army fears to cross a ravine. Xenophon first speaks to encourage them and remind the men of greater dangers they must face if they retreat. He then crosses and the army follows.

One thought especially permeates the work, in every speech and action—the cruelty and suffering brought by war to the army, to the civilians, and to able leaders. It is a subsidiary thought, perhaps, but always present—as it is in *Troades* and *Phoenissae*.

The spectacle of drama or epic is that of a single large action carried on by a few major characters with a chorus of individuals more or less affected by the actions of the main characters. The background is that set by the chorus (*Poetics* 1450b).

With the army always acting as interpreter and observer of the scenes as well as participant, Cyrus has his *aristeia*, Klearchos his moments of triumph and tragedy, Orontes his opportunity for thwarted treachery. Dexippos and Agasias figure in a scene of strife as the soldiers pelt Dexippos with stones and call him traitor (4.6.-14). Again and again attention concentrates on Xenophon; then he wanders from the centre of the stage, but never far. Mingling to watch and take part are the assembled soldiers—sometimes individuals, usually as a mass but rarely forgotten, whether they mutter, or revolt, or cheer. This appears in 2.2.20: the army is anxious about Tissaphernes' promise to give safe escort from the country—"Will he do it?" "Is he to be trusted?" "Surely he will help us." Again, in 4.7.21-25, the army comes to a rise in the ground. Word—a single word—drifts back from the scouts ahead. As it reaches the main body of men, movement quickens. First the horsemen rush forward, then the supply trains, finally the hoplites gain the rise, armour and all equipment no burden to them, running faster and faster until they reach the top of the hill. And the pushing crowd shouts "thalatta, thalatta."

Melody may include the cries of the army as it moves forward; the sound of the horses munching grass at evening, the thunder of hooves and the clash of armour, the piping of instruments at a banquet and the lulling voice of the

11. Of course early Greek tragedy did not lack soliloquy. See, e. g., Soph. *Ajax* 815ff.

singer. Sounds are always in the *Anabasis*—as a fitting melody and metre accompanied the drama—making a strange counterpoint and one must suitably to the story of war and adventure.

Résumé of the work shows the criteria of Aristotle applicable as the major dramatic episodes and lesser scenes merge into a unity: one action, serious, complete, directed toward an end as the army, always divinely guided, passes from misfortune—the death of Cyrus—to success (cf. *Poetics* 1450b-1459a). Filled with vivid scenes, reacting for good or ill on the outcome of the action, with characters so portrayed as to add realism to the plot; with chorus; with reflection on the lot of man as seen through the presentation of difficulties to certain men—the *Anabasis* is a drama in prose. In it man, for good or ill, is even as a child who makes the world anew at each birth, facing always a day unknown; and always the hero of the play which is life.

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CONTEMPORARY GREEK CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Epistêmonikê Epetêris tês Philosophikês Scholês tou Panepistêmiou Athênôn. Second Series, Vol. V. Edited by GEORGE T. ZORAS. Athens: Menas Myrtilides Press, 1954-1955. Pp. 502; frontispiece; 2 pl. No price stated.

It is heartening to see that the *Annual of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens* has continued to see the light of publication for the second consecutive year in the post war period.¹ This volume represents the combined annual efforts of the members of the Faculty

1. A previous volume (IV) of the current (second) series has been reviewed by this writer in *Athens*, Vol. XV, No. 3 (Autumn 1954) 138-139. Volume IV was the first of the postwar issues; the volume under consideration in this paper is the second. Prior to these two postwar volumes, three volumes were published under the direction of the late Emmanuel Pezopoulos: the first for the academic year 1935-1936; the second for 1937-1938; the third (published, but not circulated because of the Second World War) for 1939-1940.

During the publication of the First Series (1902-03ff.) the *Annual of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens* was merely a part of a general *Jahrbuch* which included all the various schools of the University of Athens (Law, Medicine, etc.). The Second Series, beginning as noted above, in 1935-1936, marks the period in which the School of Philosophy began to publish its own volume independently of other schools. It is thus the Second Series only that would be of primary interest to classical students.

of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens and is important for non-Greek scholars because it is representative of the sort of work that modern Greek scholarship is accomplishing.

The volume is inscribed to eighty year old Professor Emeritus Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, oldest living professor of the University of Athens and member of the Academy of Athens, and is under the general direction of Professor George T. Zoras, professor of Mediaeval and Modern Greek at the University of Athens. The volume is divided into two parts: a longer one, consisting of twenty-eight articles, and a shorter, consisting of administrative and other information about the School of Philosophy during the academic year 1954-1955.

The articles contained in the *Annual* that are of interest to classical scholars fall roughly into four groups: (a) general studies, history of Greek scholarship; (b) Greek literature; (c) archaeological; (d) linguistic.

In the first group, Maria Kissavou's article "Nikolaos Exarchopoulos the Scholar" (9-30) traces the long life and work of a significant figure in Greek educational circles. In his "Ancient History and the Contemporary Situation" (171-186) John Papastratos conducts a survey of ancient historical studies, the problems which such studies face in the modern world, and the value which ancient history has in the modern educational curriculum. Constantine Vourveris in his "Institute of Greek Humanistic Studies" (97-112) reiterates a plea for the establishment of an active Institute of Greek Humanistic Studies in Greece as well as in Europe and America to clarify the nature of the classics to the public as well as to the scholar and to enhance the social role of the classics in the modern world—a plea which Vourveris also voiced in his book *Classical Philology as an Intellectual Science*.²

Professor Dionysios Zakythinis' article on "The Problem of the Greek Contribution to the Renaissance" (126-138) is basic for anyone interested in this period; he conducts an historical survey of the material available and the principal prevailing scholarly views on the subject. Apostolos B. Daskalakes, "Greek Scholars of the Pre-Revolutionary Period and their Contribution to the Struggle for Freedom" (187-204), provides us with historical material on the concrete contributions made by Greek scholars to Greek liberation. Stylianos G. Korres, "Pedagogic Lessons of the Ancients" (205-211), shows

2. Constantine Vourveris, *Classical Philology as an Intellectual Science* (in Greek) (Athens 1952; pp. 112). I have reviewed this book in *AJP* 75 (1954) 104-106.

us by a search of the Greek sources how careful and concerned the ancients were with this matter. George T. Zoras, "Charles the Fifth of Germany and the Efforts for Liberation" (420-472), brings to light a hitherto unpublished Greek poem from the Vatican Codex 1624 in which the Greek author, John Axagiolou, pleads with Charles V of Germany to help the Greeks restore their liberty.

Among the papers on literature, George I. Kourmoules' lengthy article "Epic and Epic Material" (212-260) involves an acute comparison of the epic poems of Homer with the mediaeval Greek epic of Digenis Akritas—basic material for students of comparative literature interested in the much discussed aural-oral interpretation of poetry. Demetrios A. Tsirimbis' paper "Socrates Teaching Geometry" (377-399) is a fully illustrated and interesting article on Socrates in Plato's *Meno* and his whole relationship to the problem of teaching and of Socratic philosophy. John Kalitsounakis' "Plutarcheia" (321-327) discusses arete and related ideas in Plutarch and other Greek authors. Theseus S. Tzanetatos provides us with "Observations on the *Lucullus* of Plutarch" (342-357). Professor Nikolaos B. Tomadakes' article on the Byzantine historians entitled "The Byzantine Historians in Relation to the Ancient Historiographical Tradition and their Significance" (82-96) is excellent—he brings out lucidly the difference between the historian and the chronicler. Phaedon Koukoulas has a valuable article "Concerning the Text of the *De Caerimoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus" (48-65) in which commonly misinterpreted portions of the *De Caerimoniis* are authoritatively and definitely clarified and reinterpreted. In his essay "Byzantine Traditions" (358-369), George K. Spyridakes collects valuable material from extant Byzantine records from Asia Minor on various Byzantine traditions and why they came to be.

The third group of articles in the *Annual* that will interest the classical scholar is archaeological in content. Professor George I. Mylonas of Washington University, St. Louis, provides a survey of Mycenaean figurines with an ample account of the latest archaeological finds in his paper "Mycenaean Figurines" (139-152). Archaeologist Anastasios K. Orlandos, "A New Bas Relief of the Ascension of Alexander" (281-289) brings to light a new discovery, the fifth now known, of Byzantine bas reliefs depicting the ascension of Alexander.

In the last group of articles, which we have described by the general term "linguistic," we

might place Eric A. Skasses' "A Specimen from a Latin-Greek Dictionary" (261-280) and the interesting article by Nikolaos G. Melanitos, "Bilingualism from the Psychological and Pedagogical Point of View" (400-415), in which he carefully analyzes the causes and effects of bilingualism with Greek as a case study. In his brief series of notes entitled "Bourtzi" (31-32), Antonios Keramopoulos traces the etymology of the word "bourtzi" (Latin, *burgus*).

Certain other articles, though not strictly classical, deserve attention because of their unusual character. Philosopher John Theodorakopoulos' "General Characterization of Goethe's Faust" (290-301) is a masterpiece of interpretation. The only article in English in this *Greek Annual* is one by the Byron Professor of English at the University of Athens, Bernard Blackstone, in which he brings to light a little known but much plagiarized figure from English literature, Samuel Purchas, in his essay "Purchas's *Microcosmus*" (328-341).

I have noted a certain number of typographical errors, though it must be admitted, on the whole, that they are kept down to a minimum. The paper is of very good quality and the printing is excellent.

If a major adverse criticism were to be made of the Athens *Annual*, it would perhaps be that the variety of articles which compose this volume constitute its chief weakness. It would obviously be difficult and awkward for a non-Greek scholar to locate articles that are of interest to him in the *Annual* if a reviewer or some other source did not list the individual articles and indicate their general contents. However, such a weakness is perhaps unavoidable since the *Annual* is the annual of the Faculty of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens and of necessity must contain articles by men of varied interests and since the publication is also made in conformance with Greek law on this subject. In view of these restrictive circumstances, some allowances must be made.

There is an obvious need to bring modern Greek publications to the attention of American classical scholars. Greek scholars have done considerable work with considerable success in many areas of research, but this work, with the possible exception of certain archaeological studies, is unfortunately unknown to most American scholars. Greek scholars have worked hard, often under very rigid circumstances, to produce careful, serious works of scholarship. Publications such as the classical philological periodical *Platôn*, the *Praktika* of the Athens Academy,

the *Krêtika Chronika*, and the *Epêtêris Hetaireias Byzantinôn Spoudôn* are just a few outstanding examples of the fruits of such efforts. The resuscitation of the *Annual* of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens is, I think, another case in point.

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READINGS ON THE SITES VISITED

The more background one brings to Italy, the more interesting and meaningful will be the sites visited. The following bibliography is not complete; neither is it a list of required readings. It rather is a guide to useful information, for study before, during, and after the summer session. Staff lectures at the sites bring out the relevant data, and indicate the places and objects involved.

I. GENERAL TREATMENTS

Historical data in *Cambridge Ancient History* and under the various place entries in Pauly-Wissowa. General information in Baedeker's *Italy*. Blue Guide *Italy*, and the *Guida d'Italia: Napoli e dintorni* and *Campania* (both with local maps).

J. Beloch, *Campanien* (Breslau 1890; comprehensive but not quite up to date); J. Bérard, *Bibliographie des principales cités grecques de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1941); T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948); A. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields* (tr. V. Priestley; Rome 1947); Frances E. Sabin, *Classical Associations of Places in Italy* (Madison 1921, o.p.); D. Randall-MacIver, *Greek Cities of Italy and Sicily* (Oxford 1931); G. Boissier, *The Country of Horace and Vergil* (New York 1896); E. Pais, *Ancient Italy* (Chicago 1908).

II. PARTICULAR PLACES¹

CAPRI. A. Maiuri, *Breviario di Capri* (1938); E. H. Trever, *A Book of Capri* (1924); A. Munthe, *The Story of San Michele* (1938).

CUMAE. E. Gâbrici, "Cumae," *Monumenti Antichi* XXII (1913): excavation report; E. H. Haight, "Cumae in Legend and History," *CJ* 13 (1917-18) 565-578; J. van Ooteghem, s.j., "Dans l'antre de la Sibylle," *LEC* 3 (1934) 17-21; id., "L'Acropole et les temples de Cumae," *ibid.* 5 (1936) 606-612; J. H. Taylor, s.j., "With Vergil at Cumae," *CB* 29 (1952-53) 37-40.

MISENUM. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (Leipzig 1923) 176 ff.

NAPLES. L. Collison-Morley, *Naples through the Centuries* (London 1925); A. H. Norway, *Naples Past and Present* (New York 1929); R. T. Günther, *Pausilypon* (Oxford 1913); Labande and Shaw, *Naples and Its Surroundings* (London 1954).

PAESTUM. P. C. Sestieri, *Paestum* (Rome 1950): brief guide, with many photographs; A. D. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* (Rome 1936).

POMPEII, HERCULANEUM, VESUVIUS. A. Maiuri, *Pompeii* (1949), *Herculaneum* (1945); A. W. Van Buren, *Companion to the Study of Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Rome 1933); A. Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* (New York 1899); E. C. Corti, *Destruction and Resurrection of Pompeii and Herculaneum* (London 1951); R. C. Carrington, *Pompeii* (New York 1937); E. R. Barker, *Buried Herculaneum* (New York 1908); H. Tanzer, *The Common People of Pompeii: A Study of the Graffiti* (New York 1939).

SICILY. Guida d'Italia: Sicilia e isole minori: many maps; F. H. Jackson, *Sicily* (London 1935): handy pocket companion; V. Cronin, *The Golden Honeycomb* (London 1954).

III. ANCIENT REFERENCES²

ACHERUSIAN SWAMP: Vergil, *Aen.* 6.107. Strabo 1.2.18; 5.4.5-6. Seneca, *Epist.* 55. Silius Italicus 13.397-8. Lycophron, *Alexandra* 695.

AVERNUS: Vergil, *Aen.* 6.106-155, 236-263; *Georg.* 2.164. Lucretius 6.738-830. Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.37. Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.42. Statius, *Theb.* 11.588. Ovid, *Met.* 14.105.

BAIAE: Horace, *Epist.* 1.15.1-15; 1.1.83; *Odes* 2.18.20; 3.4.24; Propertius 1.11. Livy 41.16. Seneca, *Epist.* 51. Martial 3.58; 11.80. Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 9.12. Pliny, *N.H.* 9.8.3; 9.54.79. Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.1-10. Suetonius, *Nero* 34. Cassiodorus, *Variae* 9.6. Servius, *on Verg.* *Aen.* 3.441.

CAPRI: Vergil, *Aen.* 7.735. Ovid, *Met.* 15.709. Silius Italicus 8.541. Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.67; 6.1.2, 10. Suetonius, *Aug.* 92; *Tiberius* 40, 41, 60, 62. Statius, *Silvae* 3.5.100.

CAPUA: Vergil, *Georg.* 2.224. Horace, *Sat.* 1.5.47-9; *Epist.* 1.11.11; *Epodes* 16.5. Cicero, *In Pisonem* 24-25; *De Lege Agraria* 1.18-20; 2.87. Livy 7.31; 23.18. Florus 2.6.21. Strabo 5.4.10. Ausonius, *Ordo Nob. Urb.* 8.

CUMAE: Vergil, *Aen.* 3.441-462; 6 (entire). Pomponius Mela 2.4.9. Velleius Paterculus 1.4.1. Livy 23.36-37; 24.13. Lucretius 6.748. Pliny, *N.H.* 3.5.9; 17.25.38. Cicero, *De Div.* 1.98; *Ad Fam.* 4.2.1; *Ad Att.* 4.10.2; 14.10.3; *Acad.* 1.1; *Tusc.* 3.27. Horace, *Epist.* 1.15.11. Juvenal 3.1-5. Ovid, *Met.* 14. 104-157; 15.712. Strabo 5.4.3-4. Tacitus, *Ann.* 16.19. Valerius Flaccus 1.5. Appian, *Bel. Civ.* 1.49-104.

ISCHIA: (=Pithecula, Aenaria): Pliny, *N.H.* 3.6.12. Strabo 5.4.9. Livy 8.22. Appian, *Bel. Civ.* 5.69. Ovid, *Met.* 14.90-100. Pomponius Mela 2.7.8. Cicero, *Ad Att.* 10.13. Suetonius, *Aug.* 92. Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.18 (33).

LAKE LUCRINUS: Vergil, *Georg.* 2.161-164. Horace, *Epodes* 2.49; *Odes* 2.15.3. Cicero, *Ad Att.* 4.10.1. Pliny, *N.H.* 31.6; 9.54.79. Strabo 5.4.6. Martial 4.30; 4.57.1; 6.43.5. Propertius 1.11.10. Juvenal 4.141. Pomponius Mela 2.4.9. Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.5. Suetonius, *Aug.* 16.

MISENUM: Vergil, *Aen.* 6.232-235. Pomponius Mela 2.4.9. Livy 24.13. Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5; 6.50; 14.13; 14.4; *Hist.* 3.57. Suetonius, *Aug.* 49. Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 19. Cicero, *De Orat.* 2.60; *Pro Lege Manilia* 33. Pliny, *Epist.* 6.20. Phaedrus 2.5.8.

(continued on Page 171)

1. See also the relevant portions of books listed in I.

2. Text and translation of most in Sabin (*supra*, I); all in Loeb Classical Library.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES

FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

at

HOTEL LORD BALTIMORE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

PROGRAM

FRIDAY and SATURDAY, APRIL 27 and 28, 1956

FRIDAY, APRIL 27

HOTEL LORD BALTIMORE

12:00 NOON Luncheon Meeting of the Executive Committee (Parlors I and J)

2:30 P.M. Program Session (Caswell Room)

Earl L. Crum, Officer-at-Large, presiding

PANEL: CAESAR, THE GENERAL

Moderator: Martin R. P. McGuire, The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

Donald A. Armstrong, Director, Editorial Advisory Services,
Washington, D. C.

Sylvia M. Gerber, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Ross Heasley, Anacostia High School, Washington, D. C.

William H. Russell, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland

7:00 P.M. Dinner Meeting (Caswell Room) (Formal dress optional)

John F. Latimer, President of C.A.A.S., presiding

Toastmaster: Henry T. Rowell, The Johns Hopkins University

Invocation: Reverend David C. Watson, Rector, Church of the Messiah (Episcopal),
Baltimore, Maryland

Greetings: Henry T. Rowell, The Johns Hopkins University
Elizabeth Geen, Dean, Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland

"Junior Classical League College Scholarships — The New Jersey Plan," Carolyn E.
Bock, State Teachers' College, Upper Montclair, New Jersey

Presidential Address: "No Withered Leaves"

SATURDAY, APRIL 28

HOTEL LORD BALTIMORE

10:00 A.M. Program Session (Caswell Room)

W. Edward Brown, Vice-President of the C.A.A.S., presiding

PANEL: CAESAR, THE STATESMAN

Moderator: John F. Gummere, Headmaster, The William Penn Charter School,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Herbert W. Benario, Columbia University, New York City

Paul R. Coleman-Norton, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey

Elmer Louis Kayser, The George Washington University,
Washington 6, D. C.

Anthony E. Raubitschek, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey

12:00 NOON Luncheon Meeting of the Executive Committee (Parlor G)

2:00 P.M. Annual Business Meeting (Carnival Room)

President John F. Latimer, presiding

2:30 P.M. Program Session (Caswell Room)

Frank C. Bourne, Vice-President of the C.A.A.S., presiding

PANEL: CAESAR, THE MAN OF LETTERS

Moderator: Lloyd W. Daly, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

William T. Avery, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland

Bernard Peebles, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Morris Rosenblum, Manual Training High School, Brooklyn, New York

Charles W. Siedler, The Walton High School, Bronx, New York

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GENERAL INFORMATION

The Lord Baltimore Hotel is located in the center of Baltimore, on Baltimore at Hanover Street. The main entrance is on Baltimore Street. It is easily reached by public transportation from the Pennsylvania Railroad Station, Camden Station (B & O), Trailway Bus, and Greyhound Bus Terminals.

Those desiring accommodations at the Lord Baltimore are requested to make reservations in advance with the hotel management.

REGISTRATION

Members are urged to register immediately upon arrival. The Registration Desks are in the foyer adjoining the Caswell Room. There will be a registration fee of \$1 to help defray some of the Association's expenses of the annual meeting. Reservations should be made at this time for the Dinner Meeting to be held in the Caswell Room (price \$5.00 including gratuity).

VERGILIAN SUMMER SCHOOL AT CUMAE: READING LIST

(continued from Page 166)

NAPLES: Vergil, *Georg.* 4.563-566. Silius Italicus 12.33. Ovid, *Met.* 15.712; 14. 101. Pomponius Mela 2.4.9. Livy 23.1. Pliny, *N.H.* 3.5.9. Suetonius, *De Poet.*, *Verg.* 35-36; Nero 20, 25. Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 55; *Pro Rabirio Postumo* 26. Horace, *Epodes* 5.43. Martial 5.78.14; 11.48. Seneca, *Epist.* 57.1-3. Silius Italicus 12.31. Cicero, *Ad Att.* 7.2.5; 14.21.3; *Acad.* 2.9; *Ad Fam.* 13.30.1; *De Off.* 1.33; *Tusc.* 1.86. Statius, *Silvae* 3.5, 78-105; 4.4, 51-55. Strabo 5.4.7. Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, 2.95.

PAESTUM. Vergil, *Georg.* 4.119. Ovid, *Met.* 15.708. Propertius 5.5.61. Martial 6.80.6. Strabo 5.4.13. Pliny, *N.H.* 3.5.10. Velleius Paterculus 1.14. Livy 22.36; 26.39; 27.10.

POMPEII, HERCULANEUM, VESUVIUS: Vergil, *Georg.* 2.224. Pliny Younger, *Epist.* 6. 16, 20. Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 60-62; *Ad Att.* 2.1.11; *Ad Fam.* 7.3.1; 7.4; 9.25.3. Strabo 5.4.3-8. Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 6.1.1-2; 6.1.26. Pliny, *N.H.* 3.5.9; 14.2.4. Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.17; 15.22; *Hist.* 1.2. Livy 9.38; 8.8; 10.45. Suetonius, Titus 8. Dio Cassius 66.21-24. Pomponius Mela 2.4.9. Velleius Paterculus 2.16.2. Florus 1.16. Statius, *Silvae* 2.6.62; 3.5.72; 4.4.79; 4.8.5; 5.3.205. Valerius Flaccus 4.507; 3.209. Silius Italicus 8.655; 12.152.

PUTEOLI: Pomponius Mela 2.4.9. Strabo 5.4.6. Pliny, *N.H.* 3.6.12; 16.39.75; 35.13.47. Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 3.20.3. Cicero, *Ad Att.* 14.16.1; 5.2.2; 15.20.3; *Tusc.* 1.86; *De Fato* 2; *De Finibus* 2.84; *De Lege Agr.* 2.78; *Ad Fam.* 13.56.1. Livy 24.13; 34.35. Suetonius, Calig. 19, 32. Under name Dicaearchia: Statius, *Silvae* 2.2.10.96. Pliny, *N.H.* 3.5.9. Silius Italicus 8.535; 13.385.

SOLFATARA (ancient "Forum Volcani"). Strabo 5.4.6. Silius Italicus 8.537-8. Petronius, *Satyricon* 120.7-15.

STABIAE: Pliny, *Epist.* 6.16. Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 7.1.1. Ovid, *Met.* 15.711.

VERGIL'S TOMB: Suetonius, *De Poet.*, *Verg.* 36. Statius, *Silvae* 4.4.53-55. Pliny, *Epist.* 3.71.

WEST BADEN COLLEGE RAYMOND V. SCHODER, S.J.

We wish to express our gratitude to Father Schoder, Director of the Cumae Summer School, for making available to readers of CW the above reading list as revised for the use of students at the forthcoming sessions, July 1-August 11, 1956 (see CW 49 [1955-56] 112).—Ed.

REVIEWS

Die griechische Tragödie. By MAX POHLENZ. Zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage. 2 vols. (Vol. II: "Erläuterungen"). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954. Pp. 501, 203. DM. 50.

The first edition (1930) of this now standard work was exhausted in 1941. Pohlenz, in spite of his more than eighty years, was not content

to issue a reprint; in this new edition he has made minor revisions throughout, and in the second volume has added a great many new bibliographical references. Essentially, however, it is the same book as before; so far as I can see, there is no play on which Pohlenz has radically or even materially changed his mind. The principles of organization and criticism remain the same. Each play is discussed at some length, and there are sections of summary and generalization; notes are placed in a separate volume.

In interpretation, Pohlenz is a good example of the moderate historical critic, moderate in that he does not as a rule search the plays for covert references to specific historical events and persons, but is content to use the historical situation as a general control. The merits of this approach to Greek tragedy—that it avoids undue subjectivity and critical anachronisms—are clear and important, especially when it is backed by the good sense and learning of Max Pohlenz. But it has also real limitations. It is all too easy to seize on religious and political attitudes (whether expressed in the particular play at issue or elsewhere, or inferred from biographical information about the playwright) and, content with these

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as the "meaning" of the play, to overlook the structure, the emphasis, and the spirit of the play itself. Pohlenz's book has these limitations, especially in his criticism of Sophocles. But it is thoughtful, vastly informative, and readable, and therefore a valuable book.

Apart from extensive rephrasing and revision of individual passages, the new parts of the book are the following: some introductory pages on the inadvisability of applying modern or preconceived concepts of "tragedy" to Greek tragedy ("zum Verständnis der Tragödie können wir nur gelangen, wenn wir . . . unvoreingenommen die antiken Dichtwerke aus sich selbst und aus ihrem Daseinsraum zu verstehen suchen") and on the Greek spirit (in which the sense of universal law and order is a little overstressed); a discussion of the bearing of *POxy* 2256,8 on the date of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (Pohlenz thinks that it may have been written in the seventies and put aside while Aeschylus produced "more exciting plays, like *The Persians*," and retracts his dating of *The Suppliants* to the nineties); a new section on various Aeschylean fragments including *Niobe*; a brief "Rückblick" at the end of the criticism of Sophocles' late plays; a consideration of the well-known papyrus fragment on the story of Gyges (Pohlenz is sure it is not earlier than fourth century, and thinks it may be third century); in an appendix at the end of the volume of Notes, an acceptance of Eduard Fränkel's recent conjecture that *POxy* 2256,9 is a fragment of Aeschylus' *Aitnai*, and some surmises on the nature of the play.

In the Notes, the number of new books (since 1930) listed is impressive, but there is little indication that Pohlenz's views have been modified in any way by criticism of Greek tragedy written since 1930. The new edition would be about a hundred pages longer than the old if its format were the same. Like the old, the new edition is an attractive and well-printed book.

G. M. KIRKWOOD

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Proclus Diadochus, Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato. Critical text and indices by L. G. WESTERINK. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1954. Pp. xii, 197. \$6.00 (fl. 22.50).

Proclus' Commentary on the *First Alcibiades* of Plato has been edited only twice before, both times in complete editions of Proclus that began appearing in 1820. Creuzer, the distinguished editor of Plotinus, used chiefly one MS, unfortunately

one of the poorest, and his text is thus disfigured not only with nonsensical passages but also with solecisms. The first volume of Victor Cousin's first edition (reprinted with slight revisions in 1864) appeared while Creuzer's work was in progress and so enraged the latter that he collected in his Preface a budget of Cousin's Latin errors with the comment: "Possum saturam offerre hujuscemodi deliciarum amantibus: aliorum stomacho nauseam facere nolo." Whatever the relative merits of their Latinity, the Greek text of Cousin presents the amateur with far fewer *deliciae* than the Greek of Creuzer, for Cousin happened upon a tolerable MS of each of the two groups that Westerink has now delineated.

Westerink's text is based on an examination of about 40 MSS written before the Renaissance, which fall into two families descended from a common ancestor. He depends chiefly upon N (Neap. gr. 339), the parent of one family; D (Vat. gr. 1032), a copy of N, whenever the first hand of N is not available; and upon M (Marc. gr. 190) and R (Laur. 85,8), two MSS of the second family, whose common ancestor seems not to be extant. The editing has been done very carefully, in accordance with the principles of modern textual criticism, and will not need to be done again for many years.

After an Introduction in faultless English (pp. vii-xi) Westerink gives us 158 pages of text and apparatus, dividing the text into short sections with numbered lines for easy reference; a collection of 12 fragments of Proclus with apparatus (pp. 159-162); and two Indexes: one of all the quotations and parallels that he has identified (pp. 163-166), and one of selected terms and of all proper names, including words occurring in corrections and variants (pp. 167-197). At the top of each page of text Westerink gives the numbers of the corresponding pages in Creuzer and the two editions of Cousin. Plato scholia are cited from Hermann, not W. C. Greene.

How much has Westerink done for the text of Proclus? I have compared the first 20 pages of W. (approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole) with Cousin¹ (since Creuzer is negligible), and find that W. differs from his predecessor about 73 times, to say nothing of punctuation, which W. has drastically corrected in the interest of clarity. Fully half of these changes are not trivial, and they impress me as generally correct. In the first 20 pages W. follows N against MR 73 times; MR against N 44 times; D 2 times; the dett. of Creuzer and Cousin 5 times; emends in

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the text 9 times; suggests an emendation 8 times; and accepts 5 conjectures from 4 other scholars. In other words, Westerink has really done the work of an editor: he has not accepted some easy rule of thumb, but has thought about every textual problem separately and about Proclus' Commentary as a whole. In this respect, as in others, his edition is exemplary. The book is clearly and attractively printed, and has been proofread with great accuracy.

HERBERT S. LONG

HAMILTON COLLEGE

Diodorus of Sicily. Vol. VI: Books xiv-xv.19. With an English translation by C. H. OLD-FATHER. ("Loeb Classical Library," No. 399.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1954. Pp. vi, 379; 1 map. \$3.00 (15s).

Diodorus of Sicily. Vol. X: Books xix.66-xx. With an English translation by RUSSEL M. GEER. ("Loeb Classical Library," No. 390.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1954. Pp. vi, 454; 3 maps. \$3.00 (15s).

The Loeb Diodorus is to be completed in twelve volumes, and with the appearance of these two the end is in sight; only volumes VIII, XI, and XII are now lacking. The scholars who have worked at this translation have striven to produce a version that preserves so far as possible the style and manner of the original Greek, and the result is for the most part both accurate and readily intelligible. Difficulties arise when Diodorus becomes sententious or pedantic; the prefaces at the beginning of each book call for a freer hand and there are some passages where an attempt to translate closely results in very strange and obscure English. For example, a Greekless reader might well be baffled by the following sentence (20.43.7):

At this point one might censure the art of history, when he observes that in life many different actions are consummated at the same time, but that it is necessary for those who record them to interrupt the narrative and to parcel out different times to simultaneous events contrary to nature, with the result that, although the actual experience of the events contains the truth, yet the written record, deprived of such power, while presenting copies of the events, falls far short of arranging them as they really were.

The passage is undeniably difficult to translate but the point is easy enough to grasp when one reads the Greek. Since history cannot tell more than one story at a time, it can never properly

convey the impact of reality in which many things happen simultaneously; in this respect, therefore, its *mimêsis* falls short by far of representing reality. One might argue that a paraphrase here would be a better *mimêsis* of Diodorus than Geer's translation.

In 20.41.3-6 the story of the cruel queen Lamia is told, and we read that, fortunately for her subjects, she relaxed her vigilance when she became drunk, "and for that reason some tell in the myth that she threw her eyes into a flask, metaphorically turning the carelessness that is most complete amid wine into the aforesaid measure, since it was a measure of wine that took away her sight." Diodorus is being rather pompous, but his explanation of the metaphor is not as obscure as the English suggests; it would be just as accurate to say: "People tell the story that she threw her eyes into a bottle; since it was a 'bottle of wine' that made her drunk and blind, they represent her drunken stupor figuratively by an actual 'bottle.'"

Translation of a hellenistic writer offers special difficulties of vocabulary as well as idiom; *dynastês* and *dynasteia*, the *philoî* of hellenistic kings, "tragic" *timôria*, *epiphaneia* — these expressions will always be the despair of translators. It is disappointing that some outdated dictionary versions continue to appear, like "marines" for *epibatai*; "enrolling the choicest marines" (14.97.4) should be "enrolling the best men to serve as hoplites on board." Minor errors and clumsy expressions—like "peculiarities of the region" (14.28.1) instead of "landmarks"—are rather more frequent than they should be. Where the text is clearly at fault, emendations have been admitted quite freely, sometimes credited to Capps and Post, sometimes offered by the translators themselves. Geer's own suggestions in Book 20 are good. But it is always difficult, if not impossible, to explain how and why corruption has taken place in Diodorus' text; the discovery of a *difficilior lectio* has generally eluded editors.

Greek, rather than Latin, forms of place names and names of people have been used very widely even for Italy and Sicily; this seems a mistake; why should Leucani, Tyrrhenians, and Galatians be offered to a reader who may not recognize them as Lucanians, Etruscans, and Gauls? The maps might be improved and more names of cities added; in one of the maps in Volume X there are several misprints and the Citium in Cyprus, which is mentioned in the

naval campaign of 307 B.C., has been displaced by the Macedonian Citiium. The city of Poseidium (19.79.6) is connected by Geer with a promontory in Cilicia, though it is certainly to be identified with the emporium that Sir Leonard Woolley excavated at Al Mina at the mouth of the Orontes (Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* [Penguin Books 1953] chap. 10). Is this omission perhaps an indication that the proofs of these volumes were finally revised some time before the actual date of publication?

LJONEL PEARSON

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

NOTES AND NEWS

Attention is called to the program of the annual meeting of C.A.A.S., Baltimore, April 27-28, 1956, published at pages 167-170 of this issue.

Since the warmly debated issue of Caesar as a school author is by no means excluded from the discussions which it is hoped will follow the panel sessions, the suggestion has been made that special interest might be added by the ap-

pearance on one of the panels of a limited number of present or recent high school students of Caesar. Teachers who may wish to explore this suggestion are invited to communicate with Prof. John F. Latimer, President, C.A.A.S., The George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

Announcement of a Visiting Lectureship, under the Fulbright Act, at the University of Queensland, Australia, in Methods of Teaching the Classics, has been received. The appointment will be for the (Australian) academic year March-November 1957. Applications, available from Faculty Fulbright Advisers in candidates' institutions or from the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington 25, D. C., must be postmarked no later than April 15, 1956.

Awards for the academic year 1957-58 to certain European countries and to Japan will be announced in June or July 1956; applications will be due October 1, 1956.

A new armorial seal has been adopted by the Catholic Classical Association of Greater New

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Above the main partition of the shield is the windmill sail from the City of New York. Identifying the location of the Catholic Classical Association of Greater New York, the sail appears also on the coat of arms of the Archdiocese of New York.

BOOKS RECEIVED

BAILEY, D. R. SHACKLETON. *Propertiana*. ("Cambridge Classical Studies.") Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1956. Pp. xiv, 326. \$6.50.

BOTSFORD, GEORGE WILLIS, and ROBINSON, CHARLES ALEXANDER, JR. *Hellenic History*. 4th ed. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1956. Pp. xxiv, 519; 110 pl.; 63 maps and diagr. \$6.75.

CLARKE, M. L. *The Roman Mind: Studies in the History of Thought from Cicero to Marcus Aurelius*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. vii, 168. \$3.75.

COWELL, F. R. *Cicero and the Roman Republic*. ("Pelican Books," A320.) Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1956. Pp. xvii, 398; 32 pl.; maps. \$0.95.

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